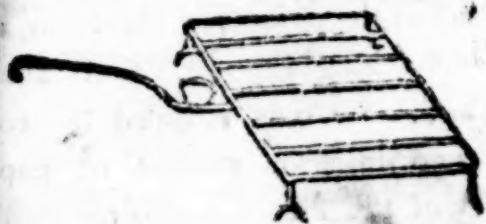


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OLDHAM, 6. Jan., 1835.

THE election here, which will take place to-morrow, will show (if that were wanting) what a base and stupid set of devils the London news-editors are. "COBBETT, it was thought, could stand no chance; though, some expected, that Fielden might get in." And that lump of dung, the "MORNING HERALD," as it is called, stating the causes so gravely, with its jackass ears pricked up, and its big, round, whiting-like eyes fixed upon the floor; that nasty, beastly thing, which seems to be uttering its odious sounds at the wrong end. The name of the half-drunken hack, who does what is called the *writing* of this paper, I cannot get at, without beating up all the stinking alleys of the WEN; but, the PROPRIETOR's name I can get at; and, as many of my constituents want to kick him, if opportunity should serve, when I get back to the WEN, I will drag him out by the ears, howl as hideously as he likes.

Oldham, 7. January, 1835.

The election over (half-past eleven o'clock), in an hour and three quarters in the whole! And, any thing so well, so sensibly, so every way nicely conducted, I never before saw. The returning officer, JAMES LEES, Esq., just as

polite and amiable-looking young man as can be imagined. Mr. FIELDEN was proposed by Mr. JOSHUA MILNE, and seconded by Mr. JOHN TRAVERS. I was proposed by Mr. ALEX. TAYLOR, and seconded by Mr. HAGUE.—Here was sense. We had no placards; we had no address; we asked no man for a vote; and did not ask the collective body. We had nothing of expense of any sort; even for our own personal entertainment. Here was no nonsense; no flattery; no coaxing; no bombast: nor was there any nonsense about "stopping the supplies." We told our constituents that it was their duty to feel grateful to the King for what he had done; and that it would be our duty to take care to avoid every thing tending to thwart his servants, if they appeared to be disposed to act in conformity to the good of his people; and, that nothing, we were resolved, should induce us to give our countenance to any factious proceeding, having for its object to lessen the constitutional weight and authority of the King or of the Lords. In all which we had the hearty concurrence of our constituents.

MANCHESTER ELECTION.

Evening, 7. Jan.

The NOMINATION has taken place here to-day. The assemblage immense! The decision, upon the show of hands, "for Sir CHARLES WOLSELEY and Mr. BRAIDLEY." Sir Charles had *fifty to one*; Mr. BRAIDLEY a great majority over Thomson and Philips.

MANCHESTER ADDRESS.

On the 3. of January, 1834, a meeting of, perhaps, from 5 to 7,000 men, took place in this town to present an address to me. Of this address, which I shall presently insert, I am prouder than of any thing that has happened to me in my whole life, the honour conferred on me by the PEOPLE OF OLDHAM always excepted. I am very grateful for the honour rendered me in Scotland, in Ireland, and in other parts of England; and, it is not the *fame* and the *wealth* of Manchester which make this address so highly valuable in my eyes; but, the circumstance of its being the greatest hive of *working people* in the whole world. It is the great planet of industry, skill, and punctuality, surrounded by numerous satellites of the same character; and all supereminent in good sense and public spirit; especially in those who do the work. I might, with perfect ease, have now been chosen for Manchester. But, no! It was OLDHAM, that, in fact, took me up from the plough, and placed me on a level with those, who had, for thirty years, continued to *keep me down*, and, if possible destroy me; it was OLDHAM that did this; to OLDHAM I owe a debt of gratitude, the exertions of the remainder of my life will be far too little adequately to repay.

ADDRESS.

Sir,—We, the people of Manchester, joyfully seize this opportunity of tendering you the expression of our feeling of congratulation and exultation, on your return from your triumphant pro-

gress in Ireland. Very long, sir, have we beheld in you, the mighty and almost only defender of English liberty, the champion of the working man, whether at the plough or the loom, and the unflinching exposé of all abuses long ago. Sir, you stripped the complex and intricate subject of paper-money of the flimsy sophistries which knavery had spread over it, you made it clear and intelligible to every man of common sense, and taught the whole people of England that till that hydra of fraud, usury, and corruption was destroyed, liberty was but an empty name, and reformed Parliaments, republics, and free institutions, were but cunningly devised frauds to reduce the industrious and the honest (the working millions) to the most horrible state of slavery under the iron fangs of an unfeeling monied aristocracy. We know too, sir, that you had instilled into the mind of the whole people a just appreciation of the value for the poor man's charter, "Elizabeth's Poor-law." We had closely watched the glorious stand that you made in your place in Parliament to preserve it against the damnable attempts of "Scotch economists," hired lying commissioners, and greedy landlords, to overthrow it. Unable to prevent the act from *nominally* passing, with joy we beheld you strangle the serpent when born, before it had entwined its hideous folds around the cradle of the ploughman's child, and the sick bed of the aged and helpless son and daughter of toil. You, sir, taught us all, aye, and thundered conviction even to the grasping and coward souls of the landlords, that the labourers

on the land have a better title to a maintenance from the land, than the landlord has to his rent. You proved to us, sir, clearly as that the glorious orb of day shines on the ploughman's cot as brightly as on the tyrant's palace, that if the poor man's charter be torn, if his right to food, raiment, and shelter from the land, be withheld, then the landlord's title deeds are a mere waste paper, the land is his no more. This undeniable truth, sir, has already made the heritors' flinty hearts to quail, and the ploughmen's and weavers' to jump for joy; they are determined to preserve the legal rights, and to live on the land upon which their fathers lived and died; but, sir, why should we, consume your time in the enumeration of your deeds, when we can sum all up in that glorious cry, that you have raised from John O'Groat's house to the Land's End, that cry which has told corruption in a voice of thunder, "Accursed thing, thy days are numbered!" that cry which is the death signal of the monster paper-money, and the harbinger of happiness and of plenty to the industrious labourer and artizan. All, sir, that we need ask or struggle for is contained in the emphatic words of the chopsticks, "WE WILL NOT LIVE ON POTATOES."

Knowing the length of time the herculean task of enlightening this great nation, and exposing the follies and blunders committed for centuries by those who had wielded her destinies, had taken you, we confess, sir, it was with mingled feelings of doubt and hope, that we heard of your intention to go amongst our horribly oppressed

brethren of Ireland, for the purposes of judging of their actual condition for yourself, of instructing them as to the real causes of their incredible miseries, and of teaching them the only mode by which they could surmount them.

But, sir, when we heard one triumphal shout of welcome hail you as the great advocate of Irish rights, as the man who had manfully, generously, and successfully combated the prejudices with which hypocrisy and tyranny had for centuries carefully imbued in our minds even from the cradle against the Irish religion, the religion of our own brave, free, and wise fathers, which prejudices you had torn from the minds of a whole people and scattered to the winds; when we perceived them "offer you the tribute of their deep and lasting gratitude for your History of the Protestant Reformation, for the benevolent sympathy which you alone of the public men of England had manifested for their wrongs, and for the unstinted justice with which you had demanded the whole of their rights": when we heard this language, sir, and were made aware that these were the feelings of our generous and open-hearted fellow subjects, whose virtue we had never doubted, but who, we had been falsely led to believe, were ignorant of their and our rights, then we were sure that the mighty object would be accomplished, and that Ireland would in conjunction with the repeal of the Union, demand and obtain Elizabeth's Poor-law.

This, sir, we are sure will effectually remedy the miseries of Ireland, and the energetic endeavours of one Englishman

are destined to compensate her for the enormous wrongs done her by successive English Governments for centuries. What a proud reflection it will be for you, sir, when you see, for we trust you will live to see the people of Ireland eating the food of Ireland, instead of sending it to absentee landlords and sinecure parsons in London, Paris, Rome, and Naples.

Yes, sir, we venture to predict that your sound constitution and temperate habits will enable you one day to return to Ireland, and receive the blessings of a well-clad and well-fed people, whom you were the means of rescuing from rags and garbage. We trust you will one day see there, prosperous farmers instead of wretched serfs, and happy contented labourers feeding on the fat sides of those hogs which are now the robbers of their children's meals, and the companions of their beds. In fine, we are sanguine enough to believe that your instructions will induce Irishmen to demand and enforce a system of poor-laws which will enable the people of Ireland to live, and live well on the produce of that rich and luxurious land, on which they are now compelled by their tyrannical taskmasters to work and to starve.

For ourselves, sir, disappointed as we are at the doings of our reformed Parliament, in which so little but mischief has been done, we thank you for the heavy blows you have struck at each of the hydra heads of "the thing." The stamp laws exist, but you have dealt them their deathblow; the poor-law has been abrogated, but, you have ensured its revival unencumbered by

Sturges Bourne's improvements; Peel's bill remains in force, but you have rendered its very mischief productive of eventual good. The national debt still drives thousands from competence to misery, but thanks to William Cobbett and Andrew Jackson, no choice is now left to the Government, but immediate equitable adjustment, or speedy annihilation of stock, funds, banks, Jews, and all idlers who at present live on the fruits of our industry.

We thank you, sir, for your instructions to our youth, for your defence of the oppressed, and for your unwearied, and for a long time apparently unavailing efforts in the cause of the working people of England, and in advance we thank you for those glorious fruits of the good seed you have sown, which we now confidently anticipate that we are about to gather.

May the Giver of all good things prolong your useful life, till you receive the only reward that is worthy of you, and that can fully compensate for all the toils, sufferings, imprisonments, reproaches and slanders that you have endured, we mean the glorious reward of seeing the people of England, Scotland and Ireland, mainly through your exertions, brought back to comfort, affluence, and happiness, their oppressors trodden under foot, excessive taxes, sinecure churches, national debts, and paper-money, become matters of history, to be looked back upon with horror like the plague and the pestilence.

May you live, sir, to enjoy this triumph of virtue, wisdom, and perseverance, over the union of a greater mass of perfidy, folly, and slavish indolence, than

ever before were united with power, and set over the destinies of a great nation in the history of the world.

To William Cobbett, M.P.

I answered this address *in speech*, the state *in which we live here*, at present, not affording a great number of minutes, in the twenty-four hours, for either *writing or thinking*!

TO THE JUST AND SENSIBLE PEOPLE OF MANCHESTER.

SEEING Mr. ROULETT THOMSON placarded as the stanch advocate of CHEAP BREAD, and having a great hatred of delusion of this sort, I think it right thus publicly to assert, that Mr. THOMSON, in the debate on the CORN BILL, repeatedly declared that he DID NOT EXPECT that the repeal of that bill would have the effect of MAKING BREAD MORE CHEAP than it would be without such repeal.

Being very jealous of my reputation as a PROPHET, I beg leave to remind you, that as soon as Mr. THOMSON was elected, in 1832, I PROPHESED that patriot and orator SHUTTLEWORTH would be feeding upon the taxes within two years from that day; and I hear that the patriot has outstripped the prophecy! Another patriot, too, of the name of DYER, has, I know, had a permission from the Whig Ministry to export machinery, and, I believe, to Russia, to be used in manufactories there; and it may be worth your while to ascertain whether this machinery be not sent to the house of "*Bonner and Thomson*," of Petersburg.

And it is a low, selfish, place-hunting, pelf-hunting, no-nation crew like this, is it, who are to juggle a man in to be a member for this great and famous town of sensible people! You *thanked* the King for having driven the base and cruel Whigs from his councils and presence; and will you now suffer to stand before you, as a candidate, one of that justly detested and rapacious band, whose last act was a scheme for *robbing the working people of their wages*, and for reducing them to a "*coarser sort of food*"?

The crew who now hang on Mr. THOMSON expect, I understand, to see him *again with the power* to give them food and clothing out of the fruit of your industry. These expectations are, I thank God, vain as the dreams of madmen. Never will the King again degrade himself by sitting in council with that *coarser-food* and *spy-employing* band, who did more insolent, cruel, and savage things towards the people, in four years, than the Tories ever did in four times the time, not excepting the savage years of 1817 and 1819.

Always remember NOTTINGHAM; always remember BRISTOL; always remember the *Dorsetshire labourers*; the more than *three hundred men transported at one time* from Hampshire, Wiltshire, and Berkshire; the seven hundred fatherless children, the two hundred and twenty husbandless wives, the hundreds of broken-hearted parents; always remember these; and when any TURNCOAT, whose mean soul is sighing to be able to imitate SHUTTLEWORTH; when you see any such reptile, crawling at the heels of the Whigs,

and endeavouring to sweep their infamous deeds out of our memories, bid the mercenary reptile lay down HIS BRUSH a bit; and look back to old "vigorous" Grey's caravans, drawn up in Winchester Castle Yard, surrounded with soldiers; bid him see the chained labourers drawn forth amidst the cries and tears of crowds of aged mothers and fathers, and wives with babies in their arms, children clinging round their fathers' knees, sisters hanging round the necks of brothers; let him see the caravans drive off; let him hear the screams of this assemblage; and then tell him: "Such are the works of the merciless Whigs, one of whom was Mr. POULETT THOMSON; and if there be an Englishman, to do anything tending to give them the power of doing the like again, he deserves every curse that God has denounced against those 'who grind the faces of the poor, and whose feet are swift to shed innocent blood.'"

"What!" you may say, "would you, then, advise us to vote for A TORY?" Gentlemen Electors, I presume to give you no advice at all; but it is not presumptuous in me to say, what I myself would do in such a case; and that is this, that, rather than vote for Mr. THOMSON; that, rather than, by giving that vote, give my sanction to all the savage deeds of the Whigs, I would have my right arm chopped from my body; and, that, seeing that Mr. PHILLIPS is clearly in the same boat with Mr. THOMSON, I should deem myself a base and stupid wretch, to vote against Mr. BRAIDLEY, merely because of his name of TORY, when he manfully expresses his dislike of the cruel Poor-

law Bill, of his support of which bill, Mr. THOMSON has the insolence to brag as of a glorious achievement.

WM. COBBET.

*Mosely Arms, Manchester,
5. January, 1835.*

MR. WAKLEY

Has, *by this time*, discovered, that I was upon the *right scent* from the first! What! hope that *Whigs* would act an *honest part*! hope to get on by *uniting with them*! He forgot their character: sometimes enemies, sometimes friends, sometimes neutrals, sometimes one thing and sometimes another, like other factions; but ALWAYS PERFIDIOUS. Always greedy, cowardly, and cruel, also; but, their great and never-wanting quality is PERFIDY. The ferocious wretches imagine, that they shall be able to jostle out their rivals, and to rob and kill them with impunity; and their mouths are now watering, like that of a hungry dog while he is watching you at your dinner. It is likely enough that their rivals, by disregarding the people, may get shoved out; but, never again will these monsters of Whigs get in. They may pull down the fabric, but never occupy it again.

MR. J. M. COBBETT.

CHICHESTER, DEC. 31.—Mr. John M. Cobbett, having been invited to come forward as a candidate for this place, arrived here yesterday, and attended a large meeting of the electors at the Swan Hotel. At that meeting it was resolved unanimously that he should stand for the city; and the fol-

lowing is a copy of his address to the electors, which appeared this day :

TO THE ELECTORS OF THE CITY OF
CHICHESTER.

Gentlemen,—Having been invited to appear as a candidate at the coming election of members to serve you in Parliament, I could not hesitate to respond to the call ; and, having already met you once personally, and stated to you briefly my opinions and political principles, I take the first opportunity of putting them before you in print. And this I think it my duty to do, seeing that those of you whom I have had the honour to meet have not put to me any formal tests of those opinions and principles.

Gentlemen, I will deal frankly by you. If I do not answer your expectations, the disappointment shall not result from duplicity of mine. I will state to you, in distinct propositions, what are the principal measures that I will vote for if you should return me to Parliament, and, in doing this, I am ready to contend for the justice, the legality, and expediency of every one of them. Before, however, I state my propositions, let me observe, that I am a *Radical Reformer*, and that I understand that phrase to mean a man who is ready to *eradicate every abuse* whether in the affairs of the state or in the affairs of the church ; but that, no vote of mine shall ever go to infringe one particle of the English constitution ; that I am no spoiler of men's property or rights, and that I feel indignant when I hear myself termed a "*Destructive*." I know that that odious term was in-

vented and is promulgated by self-interested hypocrisy ; and that none of us can be justly charged with that desire for destruction and spoliation which the epithet implies.

Gentlemen, the following are, in a small compass, the propositions to which I have alluded above :

1. A repeal of the "Poor-law Amendment Bill."
2. A repeal of the tax on malt.
3. A shortening of Parliaments to three years.
4. Voting by ballot.
5. A better-regulated suffrage.
6. An equalization of the present unjust taxes on stamps, probates, and legacies.
7. A repeal of the tax on newspapers.
8. An abolition of our unconstitutional standing army in time of peace.
9. A revision of the pension-list, and an abolition of all pensions which have not been earned by public services.
10. Church reform ; and by this I mean a reform of abuses in the church, and not a destruction of it.
11. Relief of the grievances of Dissenters.

These things, gentlemen, I am prepared to contend for, and, if you should give me the opportunity, to vote for ; and, in them all, the main object of my efforts would be the peace and prosperity of every class of the inhabitants of this country, but more especially to better the lot of the patient and industrious producers of the bread which we daily break, the clothes we wear, and the roofs under which we dwell.

The little time that I have at my own disposal may prevent my waiting on you in person, but I hope that this circumstance will not be tortured into a want of respect for you. A canvass, in the usual sense of the term, I would

never adopt; because I have always deemed it impertinent to pledge men to their votes at elections. It is a breach of their privilege. They cannot know, till they see and hear the candidates at the nomination, who is the man most suitable to represent them; and until that day, they cannot even know what candidates are before them. The matter is yours, rather than mine; and, as to pledges, though I think that you have a right to criticise, and even to pledge, me, I do not think that I have any right to pledge you.

I am, &c,
JOHN M. COBBETT.

TO THE
EDITOR OF THE TRUE SUN.

Manchester, 4. Jan. 1835.

SIR,—I was in error, when I said in my letter to Mr. EDWARD L. BULWER, that you had frequently praised his work, and especially, when it might be understood, that I meant that you praised his extolling of the *savage Poor-law Bill*, which extolling it now appears, was put into an edition of the work that you had never seen: and I do assure you, that it gives me great pleasure to find that I was in error, in this respect; and that I most cheerfully do you justice.

As to the "*genius*" of Mr. BULWER. I do not profess to understand what that word, now-a-days, means. But, if it mean, the possession of useful knowledge; if it mean a mind stored with useful thoughts relative to human affairs; thoughts, which, if acted on, tend to make a people virtuous, benevolent, and happy, and a country at once free and great; if "*genius*" mean a mind stored with such thoughts, and possessing the capacity of communicating its thoughts to other minds, and causing them there to take root; if this be the meaning of the word "*genius*";

then, not one particle of "*genius*" can I discover in the writings of Mr. EDWARD L. BULWER, whose desultory and heterogeneous essays can serve no other earthly purpose than those of making ignorance stare, idleness fall asleep, and encourage emptiness and conceit in the indulgence of contempt for every civil or political institution that is more than six months old, or that is not, like the Bourbon-police, imported from some country that our wise forefathers taught their sons to despise.

I never so much as saw even the *outside* of any of Mr. Bulwer's books, before the day when I wrote my last letter to you; and if what I have now said be displeasing to Mr. BULWER, let it be recollected, that it has been *provoked* by his calumnies on that part of our countrymen, whom, being unable to defend themselves, it is your and my bounden duty to defend to the utmost of our power, in accordance with the precept, given by me, to my son, in my ENGLISH GRAMMAR. "Honour talent, "my dear son, wherever you find it "unassociated with vice; honour it "most, however, when accompanied "with the greatest degree of exertion "for the public good; but, above all "things, honour it when it steps forward to protect defenceless innocence "against the assaults of powerful "guilt."

With sincere thanks to you for your exertions at this time, and particularly for your exertions in the cause of Mr. HARVEY,

I remain,
Your faithful,
and most obedient servant,
WM. COBBETT.

TO
MR. HUME.

West Lodge, 8. Dec., 1834.

SIR,

I have read your address to the electors of Middlesex; and I think it right thus publicly to address you on the subject. I have not time to notice every part of your letter; but I gather from it

that, however the thing may be disguised by the confusion of ideas, you call upon your constituents to join you in *CENSURING* the King, for placing in the hands of *one man*, temporarily, more high offices in the state than one.

Now, then, in 1806, the Whigs brought in, and passed, an act to enable *one man* to be First Lord of the Treasury, and *auditor of the Treasury accounts*; a thing in the *face of the law* of the land, as well as of reason and public utility; and that, too, not for a short time, but, as it might have been, for the life of that man. If you could swallow that camel, surely you can make shift to get down this gnat.

You will say, and truly, I believe, that you were not in Parliament in 1806; but you were in 1821 and 1822. Every one that knows any thing of the nature of our Government, knows that the Secretary of State for the Home Department is the great responsible officer. The Treasury, the Admiralty, are commissions; but the Secretary of State is the responsible person for all that the King does. Now, then, sir, in 1821, all the three Secretaries were in Ireland with the King; and Lord LIVERPOOL, then First Lord of the Treasury, was left in charge of the three Secretary of State-ships. In 1822, Lord CASTLEREAGH, who was Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, was for the time, while the King was gone to Scotland, *Secretary of State for all the three departments*; and remember, that *the state* in which he was at the time was afterwards proved before a jury in Kent!

Yet, sir, not one word did you ever say about these things, though you were in Parliament then, as well as you are now. Now, however, you will suffer no such doings: now you tell us, that if the King can do this for a week, he can do it for a month, he can do it for a year, he can do it for ever; and you would frighten us half to death with the names of *Dictator*, *more-than-prime Minister*, and all sorts of hideous appellations.

It has been asked, why the King was in such *haste*? Why, what was he to do, if he meant to continue to be KING?

He found, from Lord MELBOURNE, that the whole band meant to stick in, Chancellor and all. He had seen the great seal dragged along from JOHN O'GROAT'S house to Shanklin in the Isle of Wight; he had seen the "keeper of his conscience" telling his boozing companions that he would write to him to tell him how they had drunk his health; he had seen that there were but a few steps farther to go, before the people might believe that he was in a pot-house playing at cribbage for his crown; he had seen, or, at least, *you and I had*, with our own eyes, something as bad as this; for we had seen the *Chancellor of the Exchequer*, while the House was sitting on the clauses of a bill, dancing backward and forward to obtain the *assent*, or *dissent* (as to amendments proposed by us); dancing backward and forward to STURGES BOURNE, SENIOR, COULSTON, and penny-a-line CHADWICK, whom he had perched up under the gallery, in the House itself! And there were we, "his Majesty's faithful Commons," deciding according to the "YEA" or "NAY" of SENIOR, COULSTON, penny-a-line CHADWICK, and STURGES BOURNE! Let the people clearly understand this. I say, then, that while the House of Commons was in committee, discussing *the clauses* of the POOR-LAW BILL, these hired fellows were sitting *in the house*, upon the same benches where members sit to vote; and that, when amendments, additions, or alterations, were proposed by members to be made in the clauses; and when Lord ALTHORP found that many members desired the alteration proposed, Lord ALTHORP rose from his place, took the bill in his hand, went, before our faces, and sat down with these fellows, and consulted them while we were waiting in silence for his coming back; that he came back; sometimes *yielding* to what appeared to be the wish of the House; sometimes *refusing* to yield, always having a majority to vote with him! There were two hundred and fifty of us to witness this scandalous scene; to see some of the "*reform* members" looking round towards the spot where the MENTORS

were sitting, and *paying them compliments*; while, however, they heard me describe them as a bunch of *red-herrings* stuck up in "*Lunnun*," and as the authors of a book of base lies.

Why, sir, I would rather be a dog than a King who should be compelled to keep a Ministry like this! The King did not, probably, hear of this scandalous thing; but he had heard and seen quite enough without this, to make him feel that he was fast becoming what kings of England had never yet been. "*Lower orders*"! Why, my constituents are all what insolent, up-start laziness calls "*lower orders*." It is a mass of industry and of constant labour, such as is to be found in no other country in the world. It is a working people, the height of whose ambition is to live well out of their own labour, and to enjoy their own undoubted rights. But, sir, I would pledge my existence, that there is not one man amongst them who is not ready to resent the thought of being content to be governed by a King compelled to submit to such indignities, and to be governed by laws made by a House of Commons, having this bunch of red-herrings stuck up at one end of the House, to tell it how to vote.

The truth is, that the whole thing was sinking down so fast, that, if the King had one faithful friend upon the face of the earth, that friend must have advised him to do what he did. God knows, I am proud enough of the honour done me by the people of Oldham: I am bound by every tie of gratitude to them; I am bound by my most anxious desire to better the lot of the working people, as well of Great Britain as of Ireland; I have a great desire to assist in preventing the terrific dangers which menace us; but when I saw these transactions in the House of Commons, I deliberated very seriously on the question, whether it would not be *my duty to retire from my seat, leaving behind me my protest, by motion made in the House, against being subjected to such indescribable degradation myself; and, more especially, against bringing down, in my person, degradation upon my constituents, to maintain whose rights and*

whose honour it was my first duty. If I felt thus, what must the King have felt! Or, are we to proceed upon the maxim; that, because he can do no wrong he is to have no feeling?

I now come to some of the heads of complaint against the King; for you will observe, the complaints are *against the King*, disguise the thing how you may. And, I shall, to prevent a division of my matter into several articles, advert to your speeches at recent meetings in London, and also to the speeches of your companions at those meetings. One complaint is, that the King has chosen a *military* man; and great mouthfuls are made of this. One of your companions observing, that "*CROMWELL had turned out a Parliament*," leaving the inference to be drawn by his hearers. If a *turning-out* is what you are afraid of, my really HONOURABLE COLLEAGUE expressed his *hope*, amidst the acclamations of twenty thousand industrious men at MANCHESTER, *that the King would turn out this Parliament*; and I beg you to recollect that there are a *million* of the King's most valuable subjects within a circuit of forty miles round the spot where that speech was delivered; aye, and those, too, the *best informed*, as well as the most industrious and most valuable part of his subjects. To be sure, CROMWELL was a *soldier*; and he actually did bundle the House out by the hands of soldiers pushing them at their backs; but an act of greater *justice* never was done in this world; for it was a set of men who were *traitors, rebels, murderers*, and the most savage *robbers of the people* that had ever existed before that day; it being that set of matchless villains, who invented the *excise* in England; and it is truly curious, that that set of villains *first laid the duty upon the BEER*, which duty continued, frequently changing its amount, but always continuing, *until it was taken off by the Duke of WELLINGTON*! So that, in this respect, CROMWELL's quality of soldier was not very mischievous. However, CROMWELL was, upon the whole, a very bad fellow, though a wise statesman. But, was not WASHINGTON

a soldier? Was not JACKSON a soldier? Both of them generals. MUNROE was a soldier. All of them engaged in many attles. All of them chosen by the free voice; chosen *twice over*, by a most sensible people; a people so tenacious of their liberties and rights, amongst whom the *suffrage is universal*, and the voice as free as air. So that Colonel EVANS might have spared himself the trouble of giving pretty broad hints of the unfitness of soldiers to be Ministers: he might have recollected these instances, furnished us by America; and it is worth his while to consider, and worth your while, and the rest of your companions at WESTMINSTER, FINSBURY, and elsewhere, to settle the point, whether it be not as fitting for the King to choose a soldier to assist him in executing the laws, as it is for the people of Westminster to choose him to assist him in making the laws; very well worth the while of you all to remember, that about *twenty red coats* crowded into the House about two o'clock in the morning *from a ball at LORD GREY'S*, I believe, to vote for the Whigs against you and me, and some others; very profitable for you to remember, that the first address which the *reformed* Parliament carried to the King, was moved by a young lord, sitting at the back of Lord ALTHORP, decked out in uniform, with double epaulets, gorget, and sash, and a long sword by his side; very well worth remembering, that I found fault with this, but that you held your tongue; very well worth while for you to consider, whether it be very decent to carp at the King's choosing a soldier, whose rank and whose estate no King and no Ministry and no Parliament can touch, while you sit cheek-by-jowl with about seventy or eighty military and naval officers, who are making laws in company with you, and whose rank, and even whose bread, can be taken from them at any moment that the Minister of the day shall please.

I would here dismiss this subject of complaint; but there was something uttered at the FINSBURY meeting; that meeting of *two hundred thousand peo-*

ple, assembled in *one single room* at White Conduit House. There was something uttered there, which, because it was uttered by Mr. WAKLEY, I will notice. I have a great respect for Mr. WAKLEY. He is a very clever man, and very able to do good service to his country; but I have a greater respect for sense, and especially for truth, than I have for Mr. WAKLEY; and though it gives me great pain to animadvert with any degree of severity on his conduct, I must say, in the first place, that it did him little credit to condescend to give countenance to this partial, packed, and every way apparently senseless assemblage. Having taken the first step, however, he seems to have pursued the usual course of frailty, and to have concluded, at last, with this ridiculous specimen of *rodomontade* and bombast.

"We use not arms, we resort not to physical force; we understand our duty too well, and are not to be driven by a wily antagonist from an impregnable position. I say, we desire not these things; we *hope they will not be forced upon us*. (Cheers). But it is said that the use of the *arsenals* has been threatened; it is *whispered* that the Duke would not hesitate to plant *cannon* in our streets. I hope such things will not be; but if *they must*, why *they must* be, and woe on them that bring it about; for let but *one musket* be fired in the quiet thoroughfares of this peaceful kingdom, and in its pealing echo will be heard the *funeral knell of every Tory in England*. (Great cheering)."

"It is said." Now *who* says that the arsenals are to be used against the people? "*It is whispered*." By *whom*, Mr. WAKLEY, is it whispered that cannon is to be planted in the streets? Ah, Mr. WAKLEY! This is not the road to *lasting* fame; this is not the way to *merit* the confidence of the people; and without really meriting it, no man will have it long. Look at BROUGHAM! Hear his shouts for "*CHEAP BREAD*" in Yorkshire; and behold him *now*! See in him the fate of one who builds his fame upon the practising of delusion! Arsenals, cannons, muskets! Do you

know, that there are not, in Great Britain, *as many soldiers as there are parishes*! Do you know, that there is not one single soldier to every parish in England and Wales, and Scotland? If you do know it, this is as scandalous a piece of delusion as was ever attempted to be practised upon a people: if you do not know it (which I believe to be the case), you ought to have been silent upon the subject.

Now, Mr. HUME, I come to one of the great standing objections to the conduct of the King in making this choice. The jobbers of the city take the lead in making this objection; and I see it has been echoed at all the miserable meetings of silly creatures that the bands of commissioners have been able to muster up. The objection is, that we all know *what the Duke did before*: and, that we must conclude, of course, that he will do *the same again*. My constituents and I say, "God send he may, only a *little more of it*!" So widely do we differ in opinion from you. The Duke *repealed the Test and Corporation Acts*; the Duke gave *Catholic Emancipation, complete and entire*; while the Whigs, when they were in power, brought in a bill to give about *one-half* of what the Duke gave, and *withdrew the bill*, upon a threat of being turned out, if they persevered in it. The Duke abolished completely and entirely the *EXCISE ON BEER*; and thus released the drink of the working people from a tax which had been laid on it by the accursed Whigs, a hundred and eighty-six years before; and had been kept on it from that day to the day when the Duke swept it away; and these present Whigs have been doing every thing that they can do *to lessen the benefit of that measure*. This is what the Duke *did before*; and, if he be likely to do the same sort of things now, what ground is there here for carping at the choice which has been made by the King?

But the Duke "*will not carry out the Reform Bill*." This metaphor must certainly have originated amongst coal-heavers, or porters of some description or other. It is one of those

phrases that may be explained to mean any thing, or nothing: it is of true Whig character. We Protestants have been in the habit of accusing the Jesuits of having a double-faced creed; but the Whigs have always had one. However, taking the words to mean, that the Duke will not act upon the principles of *reformation of abuses*, and coupling this meaning with the lamentation over the turning out of his predecessors, we correctly conclude, that you take the measures of those predecessors as *specimens* of the work of "*carrying out the Reform Bill*." Here we come to something that one can understand; and, to give it the form of a proposition, the whole tribe of your brother orators and you say, in substance this: That the King is to blame for having chosen a Minister who, as you assert, will not continue to carry out the Reform Bill by the *same sort of measures* by which his predecessors have been *carrying it out*. And in this respect, I trust in God that you are right; for, how have they been *carrying it out*? By the Irish Coercion Bill; by rescinding a vote for half-repeal of the malt-tax; by flinging away twenty millions on the West Indies; by employing POPP, into whose hands in his character of spy, and for spying, we traced the public money from the hands of the last *prime Whig-Minister*, that "*amiable person*," whose fall is so much lamented by you; by refusing all inquiry into the pension-list; by *talking* about corporation and church reforms, and by expressing their determination to make no substantial reform; by getting twenty thousand pounds as a little beginning for *national schools*, and then getting a committee to report that such an establishment would be *improper*; by passing a law to tax parishes to raise money to send labourers abroad, while a committee of their own reports to the House, that the land is falling out of cultivation for the want of a sufficiency of labour being bestowed upon it; by taxing the country at large, and my laborious constituents amongst the rest, to maintain a police force in London; by employing bands of com-

missioners, and by clandestinely palming upon the House of Commons a mass of infamous lies and savage recommendations, coming forth under the name of those commissioners; by passing what they call a Poor-law *Amendment Bill*, which has excited feelings, and is producing acts, not to be described by me through a channel like this. If this be "*carrying out the Reform Bill*," the Duke of WELLINGTON will, I trust in God, not only not attempt to carry it an inch farther, but will express to us, as soon as possible, his determination to carry it back again to the point whence it started.

But, sir, there was something *specific* in the speech of your brother orator, Mr. DUNCOMBE, of which I think it necessary to take particular notice. This gentleman, at the FINSBURY meeting, stated some of the measures which were to constitute a part of the carrying out of the Reform Bill: and then told the people that, if they wished to have that carrying out performed, they must resolutely combine against the Duke. Having declared that the Duke of WELLINGTON ought to be *impeached*, and said, that *he would say the same thing in Parliament*, for which I shall wait with patience; after having positively asserted, that the rest *should not be* puppets and the Duke pull the wires; after having said, "*this shall not be*," and having been cheered to the skies for the promise, Mr. DUNCOMBE proceeded thus: "*If the restrictive and vexatious clauses of the Reform Bill are to be repealed* (cheers), *if the pension list is to be purified, if flogging in the army is to be done away with*, (loud cheering), *if impressment in the navy is no longer to degrade us as a nation*, (continued cheers), *if the duration of Parliaments is to be shortened*, (bravo), *if the vote by ballot is to be conceded*, (cheers), if these things are to be, and you deserve them not if you will not struggle for them, but, if they are to be, then I call upon you, in one voice, and as one man, to declare with me eternal warfare, uncompromising hostility with the banded leaguers,

"*the Tory freebooters of England*."
 "(Great cheering)."

Now, every one of these things have not only not been attempted to be done; but having been proposed and moved for, have been *rejected by the Whig Ministry* and their thundering *reform* majority. FIRST, Colonel EVANS himself moved for a repeal of the restrictive and taxing vexatious clauses of the Reform Bill, which have already disfranchised a *seventh part of the electors*. This was opposed by the Whig Ministers, and rejected by their majority! SECOND, Mr. HARVEY moved for an inquiry into the services of those who are upon the pension list: that was rejected by the same Ministry and the same majority. THIRD, Major FANCOURT moved for doing away with flogging in the army; that was rejected by the same Ministry and the same majority. FOURTH, Mr. BUCKINGHAM moved for the abolition of impressment in the navy; that was rejected by the same Ministry and the same majority. FIFTH, Mr. TENNYSON moved to shorten the duration of Parliaments, and he made the motion in each of the two sessions; that was rejected by the same Ministry and the same majority. SIXTH, Mr. GROTE moved for adopting the regulation of the ballot at elections; that was rejected by the same Ministry and the same majority.

Now these facts are perfectly notorious, and yet Mr. DUNCOMBE would persuade us, or rather, did persuade his cheering audience, at White Conduit House, that, if we are to get these things, we are to get them from the same Ministers; and, therefore, we are to force them back upon the King!

I could, but I will not, make some further observations on the conduct of Mr. DUNCOMBE on this occasion. Mr. DUNCOMBE is a young man; but he ought to have known the things which I have now stated. At any rate, however, I have stated enough to show, that either he intended to delude, or was deluded himself; and that is quite enough to do with regard to him. At this FINSBURY meeting there was something took place which shows the character of the meeting itself. Mr. WELLS

proposed a resolution, in substance as follows, which was seconded by Mr. ROGERS. "That we see no ground of alarm in the dismissal of the late *ungrateful* Ministry, and that we will give our support to ANY Ministry who will be ready to concede the full rights of the working people, and to adopt measures to better their condition."

This resolution was *rejected*, though so full of good sense, and being in it the very thing which ought to have been adopted at every meeting in London. This was the very view that the people of Lancashire took of the matter, and which every man of sense must take of the matter. And now, Mr. HUME, what ground is there for your *alarm*? How is any Minister to go on *without money*? How is he to have money unless the House of Commons vote it? How will that House dare to vote it into the hands of a bad Minister, unless they despise the voice of their constituents? And, if they can despise the voice of their constituents, what has this famous Reform Bill done for us? and why are you so anxious for the *carrying of it out*? Sir, how you sink *yourself*! and how you would sink me, and all other Members of the House of Commons, if we were to follow your example? Why we are chosen by the people, *not to interfere with the King* in the exercise of his duty; but to discharge our *own duty* faithfully; and if we do that, the King's choice, even of bad servants, can do our constituents no harm. Why, then, do you fret yourself about it? We are not chosen to be advisers of the King; and I am very much deceived, if your constituents will not tell you that at the next election, and ask you, whether it would not have been as well, if you *had opposed the Poor-law Bill*, instead of upholding it, by boasting of the *good effects* of the *absence of poor-laws in Scotland*, when the fact was, that there *were* poor-laws in Scotland, and that there *are* poor-laws in Scotland, and that they are infamously violated, to the great suffering of the people. I will shortly address a letter to *your constituents* upon this

subject; and they will then see, if they do not see already, that it would have been much better, if you had applied yourself to matters like these, instead of becoming a *Minister-maker*. In the course of your speech at Westminster, you said several things, which, if you be truly reported, it would have been better if you had left unsaid. There is this passage: "In his own parish, yesterday, they had proclaimed in a voice of *thunder*, down with the Tories. Away with all absurd distinctions between Whig and Tory. Let them be no longer humbugged by these epithets, but look to real practical objects." Mr. HUME, you are represented as having been extremely anxious *about the BOOKS* at the fire at Westminster. Ah! good God! *the BOOKS*! Then, again, the newspapers tell us, that you have brought home valuable *scientific collections* from BELGIUM: other papers tell us of the munificent literary presents that you are making to the *hommes de lettres* at Paris. Amongst these, doubtless, are collections of your *speeches*. Mr. HUME, if you send them a copy of this Westminster speech, pray, remember, that the words "*Whig*" and "*Tory*" are *not* "*epithets*."

In other parts of this famous speech you state some *facts*: one is, that it was the Tories that went to war with France to prevent reform. It was the Whigs, Mr. HUME, who *forced* PITT into that war. In another part of your speech, you say this; that, "at the ASHFORD dinner the Conservatives boldly asserted "that his Majesty was determined to support every part of the "constitution, as it *now existed*." Now, in the first place, the Reform Bill makes part of the *present existing constitution*. That declaration, therefore, ought, if true, to have pleased you. And now there come two *falsehoods*; the one of omission, and the other of commission. You omit to say that the meeting at ASHFORD declared their readiness to aid in the adoption of *all necessary reforms in church and state*. The falsehood of commission is, that it is false to say that the Duke of WELLINGTON, *uttered these words*; and it is false to say that

the Duke of WELLINGTON was at the meeting. At least, it is false, if the report of the meeting as published in all the newspapers was true. I have inserted the whole of your speech in my *Register*, at the end of this letter, that you may not accuse me of garbling; and I have taken the report from the *Morning Chronicle*, which is most favourable to you. Colonel EVANS called you "*the most useful member of the legislature.*" If this be so, your present conduct must be a subject of great sorrow with every one who wishes well to the country, for I am very much deceived, if your present constituents, at any rate, send you to that legislature again.

There remain THREE very interesting topics for me to discuss with you: **FIRST**; the harmonious resolution of you all NOT TO ACCEPT OF ANYTHING THAT THE DUKE MAY OFFER, however good the thing may be for the people; not even of a repeal of the MALT-TAX! **SECOND**; that the Duke, *having opposed* the Reform Bill, cannot now uphold it without infamy to his character! **THIRD**; the right and the expediency of members of Parliament, and even of the people themselves, to interfere at all, and especially in this dictatorial manner, with the exercise of the undoubted prerogative of the King, which has been given him for our security; and which, if it be not exercised with perfect freedom, makes him a slave, and totally useless to us.

Before, however, I come to these topics, let me notice another part of your Westminster proceeding; namely a resolution about Lord DURHAM, and, I am sorry to say, moved by Mr. WAKLEY. "That the warmest thanks of this meeting are pre-eminently due, and are hereby most cordially voted, to the Earl of Durham, for his late manly and virtuous advocacy of those popular rights—Triennial Parliaments, Household Suffrage, and Vote by Ballot—the only means of securing to the people good and cheap Government."

Sorry I am to see this from Mr.

WAKLEY; and more sorry still to see the speech which follows it. This nonsense about Lord DURHAM is really sufficient to make one sick. Does Mr. WAKLEY look upon this proposition of Lord DURHAM as any thing calculated to *satisfy* those *radical* reformers, of which he says, he is "*an old one*"? However, I hate the party appellation, and all party appellations; but, *radical reformer* has meant hitherto, one who is for *annual* Parliaments and *universal suffrage*; and not a word about *triennial*, or about *houses*. The arguments in favour of annual Parliaments have never yet been answered, except by Major CARTWRIGHT himself, who allowed that the great frequency of elections might *diminish the interest* that they would excite; and, therefore, he proposed something to supply the place of this want of interest at elections. However, being the ancient custom of the kingdom, he settled, at last, in preferring annual Parliaments; and I am for annual Parliaments, too; because I do not see the objection which Major CARTWRIGHT had; and because I believe, that they would not at all tend to the overthrow of any order in the state. With regard to the ballot, it affects *no right*, and touches *no principle*: in some cases it would be favourable to the people at large; in other cases it would be unfavourable; and the opinion at MANCHESTER is, that it would be unfavourable there. But, with regard to *the extension of suffrage*; that is a capital point; that is a substantive matter: that involves a *principle*, on which liberty, civil as well as political, principally rests. In the first place, Lord DURHAM clogs his *householder* suffrage with the Lord JOHN RUSSELL trammels of *taxes and rates*. So that this proposition is a mere delusion, a mere thing thrown out to cause silly people to believe, that a DURHAM Whig is a better sort of Whig; as *Durham mustard* is a better sort of mustard, though not an ounce of mustard seed is *now* grown in that county; and though that which is *sold* for it is a mixture of *flour, ochre*, and other *horrible pungent drugs*, mixed up

together in what they call the "*mustard manufactories*"; and which, if you take a good lot into your stomach, will lie burning there like a fire coal for two days. None of this household Durham mustard for me. I am for the stuff that springs out of the ground of natural justice, and that will bear the test of truth and of reason; and I say, that it is *expedient* as well at *just*, that every man, arrived at mature age, being of a sane mind, and unstained by indelible crime, is as much entitled to a vote as any lord, baronet, or squire, in the land. To *prove this*, demands the space of a dissertation. I have written this dissertation, in a little book, which will be very shortly published, and which I here, beforehand, call upon you or Mr. WAKLEY to answer. With the *justice* is all that we have really to do in this case; but I would not undertake to advocate the adoption of any great measure like this, if I could not prove to my own satisfaction, at least, the *expediency*, as well as the *justice* of it. Taking it for granted, that we all wish that peace, harmony, safety to life, safety to all sort of property, should prevail in the kingdom; that the greatness of the kingdom should be upheld; that the crown, and the ranks dependent upon it, should be upheld; taking it for granted, that these things form the object of us all; then I say, that, to ensure this object, my sincere opinion is, and in the most solemn manner I declare it to be my conviction, that it is *expedient* to admit of universal suffrages at elections for members to serve in Parliament.

And now, Mr. HUME, I come to the THREE topics above mentioned, taking first, the harmonious resolution of all you Whig patriots, *not to accept* of any thing that the Duke may offer, however good the thing may be for the people; and even of a repeal of the malt-tax! Come, come, now! What! and does Mr. WAKLEY *pout* at this, too? I can remember that I used sometimes literally to fall out with my own bread and cheese. When my mother has offered me a bit of bread and cheese, I have sulked, and would not take it; and I remember well that I never did it with-

out being ashamed of myself afterwards. However, Mr. HUME, it is not for you to indulge in sulks in this case. It is *not to us* that the Duke will offer any thing; or, at least, *for us*, for whom he cares but very little, I dare say it is *to*, and *for*, *our constituents*, whom he will make the offer, if he make it any, as I hope in God he will: it is *through us*, as representatives of the people; and, if it be good for the people, if we reject the offer knowing it to be good, all that I can say is, that we shall both deserve to be hanged by the neck till we are dead, and to have our bodies disposed of by hired overseers, under the provisions of the bill of your friend Mr. WARBURTON, who, with yourself, form the GEMINI of the political zodiac. Nevertheless, this is the language of you all, and the commissioners' paper, the *Morning Chronicle*, is continually "*CAUTIONING*" the people against any expressed intentions of the Duke to do them any good. Ah! if we were at war with him, this old hack newspaper could not be more eager to guard us against a destructive ambuscade. "*Ah! take care! Don't take cheap malt from him; for you do not know what may be the consequence! There will be mischief at the bottom.*" One of your associates at Westminster, a Sir somebody KNOWLES, followed your associate, Mr. TUCK, who generously and modestly declared, that, "*he would only say, that he should consider it an honour to serve his country in any capacity, however humble.* (*Loud cheers and bravo.*)" Mr. TUCK, who certainly ought to have the preposition "*up*" added to his name, made this profession, it would seem, for the purpose of illustrating what *ought to be the conduct of the King*, "*who ought,*" Mr. TUCK said, "*to act in the same manner*"; and that "*they must give him a lesson,*" and tell him, that, "*if surrounded by flatterers, he forgot his duty to his people; his person, to be sure, was sacred, and must remain so! But that they could properly and constitutionally tell him what they thought of his conduct.*" Another associate of yours, Mr. SIMP-

son, observed, "that the King could do no wrong (of *can't he*); but his Ministers could (*cheering*)."
 Mr. SIMPSON, after relating what CROMWELL did to the Parliament, exclaimed, "*Let the King beware!*"
 Mr. DUNCOMBE, at FINSBURY, speaking of the impossibility of Parliament going on without Ministers in all their places, and some of them in the House of Commons, and proceeding in the argumentative style, said, "The law says, that *on the demise of the Crown*, which God forbid (*pooh, pooh, and loud laughter*), Parliament shall be assembled."
 Then Mr. DUNCOMBE goes on explaining the impossibility there would be of the Commons going on, there being *no channel* by which to get at the King. Why, does not Mr. DUNCOMBE know, then, that the law and the records of Parliament, do not know any thing at all about Ministers? Does not he know, that they are *mere members of Parliament*? Does he not know that they cannot grant the laying of one book or paper before the House; that there must be a *motion of address to the King* that he will be pleased to cause the paper to be laid before the House? So that there is no need of Ministers being there, any more than in the House of Congress in America, where they never are. However, it is not the *nonsense*! it is the rude and silly "*POOH, POOH,*" that is most worthy of attention here, and that is truly characteristic of the Whigs; who, if they could, would now tear the country to pieces; who would act the part of the false mother, whose falseness SOLOMON discovered by her willingness to *cut the child asunder*! True CATALINES! Detected, exposed, baffled, choked off from their prey, they exclaim with that celebrated villain, "If I am defeated, I will, at any rate, leave Rome unfit to live in!" "There is nothing new under the sun:" for, though there is no man amongst the Whigs of valour and talent like those of CATALINE, their nature and disposition are the same: they are pole-cats: he was a tiger; and, as naturalists say, that pole-cats are only a smaller sort of

tigers, so these despicable Whigs are a smaller sort of CATALINES.

In pursuance of the dictates of their common nature, they are at work, tooth and claw, to *caution* the people against receiving any thing from the Duke; they seem as if they would gladly see the people starve rather than be relieved by measures coming from him. Their newspapers deal in *general terms* as to this great point. They seem to be afraid to name any particular thing that the Duke might take it in his head to do. One of your associates, however (to whom I now return), blundered out one of the things that the Duke might do. He said, "his *principal* motive in coming forward to second the resolution was, to guard their minds against the delusive promises held forth to the landed, and, he believed, the agricultural, interests. He had heard among his country friends, that they had the highest hopes that the malt-tax would be repealed; that a penny a pot would be taken from the poor man's pot of porter"; and he asked, "what advantage would the people of England derive from a reduction of a penny a pot in the price of porter?"

Now I leave it to this your worthy associate to distinguish between the "landed interest," and the "agricultural interest"; but I will answer, very distinctly, his question touching the advantage to be derived by the people of England by a repeal of the malt-tax. He says, that it would only save a penny a pot on the beer. Suppose the beer, or ale, to be sixpence a pot; repeal the malt-tax, and it would be three half-pence. If it be stuff that now costs threepence a pot, it would be three farthings. But, taking him upon his own showing, that it would save the working man a penny a pot, and suppose, that of the twelve millions and a half of people in England and Wales, there is one million of them who, upon an average, drink a pot a day each. Does Mr. KNOWLES know, that this leaves in the pockets of the working people one million, four hundred and eighty-two thousand, five hundred and sixty-six sovereigns a year; and that is

*one pound ten shillings and fivepence a year a-piece, in every year for a million of people? This is supposing that there would be none but brewers' beer still; this is supposing, as I have proved over again, that the advantage here stated by him, is only about a sixth part of what it would be as to money: yet, according to this man's own statement; here are thirty shillings and fivepence a year to be added to the earnings of a million of working men. Your constituents, as well as mine, Mr. HUME, clearly understood the whole of this matter: they know well what a blessing it would be to them all to get rid of this malt-tax. I believe it will be repealed; if it be repealed, and the horrible Poor-law Bill be repealed, and quickly, too, no man will dare to call himself "a Whig" from that day forward to the end of the world. What, sir, "accept of no offer"! "make no compromise"! We may well say *pooh! pooh!* here. Vote against the repeal of the malt-tax, then, and march off after your countryman, BROUGHAM! You might then have plenty of leisure to consult your friends "abroad," and write once a month to tell us how the *hommes de lettres* are going on, and whether the words *Whig* and *Tory* be epithets or not.*

Well; but what horrible nonsense is all this! What, sir! do you mean to say that you would *vote against* doing the very things that your friend Mr. DUNCOMBE asserts that the Tories will not do? Do you mean to say, that you will *vote against* a repeal of the tax-clause in the Reform Bill; that you will *vote against* a repeal of the monstrous Poor-law Bill; that you will *vote against* a repeal of the Dead-body Bill; *against* shortening the duration of Parliaments; *against* an extension of the suffrage? "*Pooh! pooh!*" There will be a *demise* of your crown, at any rate, if you even *talk* of such a thing. Never will you again rot up; at least, you will never do it again in *that same place*.

The SECOND topic is, the assertion, that the Duke, having *OPPOSED* the Reform Bill, cannot now uphold it without *INFAMY* to his character.

In the first place, I and my constituents have very little to do with his *character*. What we have to do with are, his *acts*. However, this proposition of yours is a very singular one; that, because a man opposed a great alteration in the law, he is "*infamous*" if he exercise power under that alteration, after it is made. Now, sir, you and your associates really would seem not to have as much memory as dumb creatures. Any horse or cow will show you proofs of remembering things for two or three years, at any rate. Do you remember, that Fox, GREY, and all the set of Whigs, called the income, or property-tax, a "*highwayman's tax*," when it was imposed by PITT; and do you remember, that when they came into power themselves, they raised that tax from 6½ to ten per cent.? Do you remember (yes, you do) the passing of SIX ACTS, and amongst them the *Cheap-publication Act*? Do you remember how they all opposed this act, and you amongst the rest? Do you not remember, that they called it *unconstitutional, tyrannical, and abominable*? that they divided the House upon the question several times? And do you remember the savage cutting which BROUGHAM and the rest of them *gave you yourself*, for attempting to cause a repeal of that act? BROUGHAM owed a great part of his false reputation to his opposition to that act, and your ears yet tingle with the real personal abuse that he poured out upon you, because you merely *talked* about a repeal of that act, under which act they have had, first and last, about *seven hundred persons in prison*; a thing which the Duke never attempted; suffering it to lie as a dead letter all the time that he was in power!

But, have you already forgotten what has passed in this reformed Parliament, relative to a *repeal of the Union with Ireland*? Is there an epithet (a *real epithet*), descriptive of the most abominable, the most hellish, tyranny and cruelty, which was not applied to the act of Union, by GREY, by PLUNKETT, by the whole band of Whigs? And have we not seen these two men, one Prime Minister, the other

Lord Chancellor of Ireland, under that act of Union; have we not heard them say, that they would resist a repeal of that Union "*to the death*"; and have we not seen them passing a red-coat-court-of-justice bill to keep in check those who proposed a repeal of that Union?

Well, then, if the Duke be to be "*infamous*," if he uphold the Reform Bill, where are we to find words to describe the infamy of GREY and PLUNKETT and their associates? We ascribe to them no infamy at all for any *legal* and *constitutional* endeavours to uphold that Union; and where is the man to be found so foolish and so unjust as to impute even any *inconsistency* in the Duke, if he now uphold this Reform Bill, especially when he now knows, that it sprang, not out of the will of the dirty Whigs, but out of the desire of the people? Besides all which, what have you and I to do with the *character of the Duke*? Our constituents have not appointed us to be the conservators of the characters of Ministers, but to be the conservators of their *rights* and of their *money*; and, if we will but take care of these, they will excuse us for declining to be moral censors with regard to the servants of the King.

I now come, in conclusion of this long letter, to the THIRD TOPIC, which I have mentioned above; that is to say, the right and the expediency of members of Parliament, and even of the people themselves, to interfere at all, and, especially, in this dictatorial manner, with the exercise of the undoubted prerogative of the King, which has been given for our security; and which, if it be not exercised with perfect freedom, makes him a slave and totally useless to us. I think less about *the King* here than about my constituents, as it is my duty to do. And, what would be the situation of the people, if the *members of Parliament were to choose the servants of the King*? And, if they have no right to *choose* them, they have no right to interfere at all in the matter. I and my colleague objected to signing the

paper expressing confidence in Lord ALTHORP, and calling upon him to *keep his place*. That was an act of great indecency; it was a gross insult to the King, and was a first step towards the assumption of all power by that one House; and I, in speaking of the Poor-law Bill to my constituents, have asked them, what would have been their fate, if all the powers of the Government had been in the hands of those who brought in, and pushed on, the Poor-law Bill, and who had penny-a-line CHADWICK and the rest of that crew, stuck up in a corner of the House to dictate its proceedings! The answer of my constituents was such as every sensible man will anticipate; namely, indignation as strong as they could express at the degrading thought. They know well that their representatives will take care, as far as they are able, that the King's servants shall do them no harm; they know that, to use the language of FORTESCUE, "the King is made for the people, and not the people for the King"; they know, that he holds his prerogatives from the people, and for the people; and that, while they are resolved to maintain their own privileges, it is a part of their duty to themselves and to their children, to maintain the prerogatives that they have given to him. I put the matter to my constituents thus: "If the King were to send word to you 'not to choose me and my colleague, what would you say?' 'Say that he was a tyrant to be sure!' Then, said I, what are we to think of those who are telling the King, that he shall not have the men that he chooses; and that he shall have those back again, whose measures we so justly detest?"

But, you and your dictatorial associates go a step farther than this. You not only scold the King for discharging one set of servants and choosing another, but you tell him, that *you have got a man*; that you have found out a fit man for him, in Lord DURHAM! Why, sir, it is a shame for a member of Parliament even to be present at a meeting where such things are going on.

What I have to state in conclusion

is truly curious. The PRESIDENT OF AMERICA adopted the opinion, that the system of paper-money, which he found going on, had an inevitable tendency "*to make the rich more rich, and the poor more poor*"; that it was gradually undermining the liberties of the country; that it was creating a villanous *aristocracy of money*, at the expense of the industrious farmers, tradesmen, and working people of the country. He found, to his great sorrow, that there was a majority in the two Houses of Congress for upholding and perpetuating this system; and he had the deep mortification to receive a bill from the two Houses to uphold and perpetuate it. But, the wise constitution had armed him *with prerogatives*, one of which enabled him to put his *veto*; that is to say, his REJECTION, upon this bill. He had the honesty and the courage to do this. And here we have a proof of the benefit of *frequent elections*. There was a new election at hand, which is just now over. *Universal suffrage* had to determine upon the conduct of the chief magistrate: *it has determined*; and that free, sensible, and just people have *stood by their chief magistrate*, and his *prerogative*. They have sent him back a Congress, who will support him by three to two, if not two to one; and they have thus preserved themselves and their children from the intrigues and the daring encroachments of a faction, who would, like you and your associates, have made the President a tool in their hands, and have stripped the people of every means of protection.

Such has been the conduct of the free people of America, and such their success. It is very curious, that "*Dictator*," "*Usurper*," and all the other names applied to the Duke of WELLINGTON, have been applied to the President. The faction have abused his "*councillors*," in the most outrageous manner. And, what is more curious than all the rest, this villanous faction have assumed the name of "*WHIGS*"; and very properly; for the faction which has existed under this name, in England, have always, when they have been able,

struck the King down with one hand, and robbed and oppressed the people with the other, at one and the same time. This attempt they have made now: they have been defeated; and I do hope, they are now down themselves, never to raise their hated heads again. Let us, in the discharge of our duty, take care of the rights and the money of our constituents; and let us leave to the King to choose his servants, knowing so well as we do, that, if we perform our duty faithfully; if we be really his "*faithful Commons*," he, and we, and our constituents, will all be safe together.

Remembering, and desiring not to forget, many laudable efforts of yours, in behalf of the people, it is not without great pain, that I have written this letter; but it was my duty to my constituents to do it; and, before all other things, I must prefer the performance of that duty.

I am, sir,
Your most obedient
And most humble servant,
WM. COBBETT.

MANCHESTER ELECTION.

THE addresses of the four Candidates are worth preserving, as specimens of WHIG, TORY, and RADICAL political professions.

MR. MARK PHILIPS.

To the Electors of the Borough of Manchester.

Fellow Townsmen,—The construction of the new Administration, by the appointment of Sir Robert Peel as First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer, and that of the Duke of Wellington as Secretary for Foreign Affairs, can be regarded only as an attempt to stop the progress of reform, and to recur, as far as the altered state of the representation of the country will admit, to that system of policy which was indignantly denounced by the voice of the nation prior to the passing of the Reform Bill.

The first act of this new Administration, it is anticipated, will be to recommend his Majesty to dissolve the present Parliament. It was not my intention to have intruded myself upon your notice until the actual announcement of that dissolution; but having been urged by a numerous body of friends who gave me their confidence and support at the last election, to come forward again should a general election take place, I will at once declare my intention, in such an event, of offering myself a second time as a candidate for your suffrages.

In seeking again the distinguished and highly responsible trust of representing your important interests in Parliament, I ask you only to judge with impartiality my past conduct; all that I desire is, to abide the issue of that judgment, conscious that I have, during my short Parliamentary career, endeavoured faithfully to discharge my duty towards you.

I have no pretensions to the qualifications of a public debater, and have not therefore been a frequent speaker in the House of Commons; but I have been ever anxious for your interests; and if I cannot refer you to brilliant speeches, I have the conscious pride of believing that I can at least refer you to honest votes.

These will unequivocally declare how desirous I have been on all occasions to secure for you and for the country those ends, of which I considered the Reform Bill as the means. They will show that I have anxiously sought to amend the representative system by shortening the duration of Parliaments, by the introduction of the ballot, and by removing the unnecessary and oppressive machinery of the Reform Bill itself, which requires the payment of rates and taxes as part of the qualification of the vote. That I have been vigilant as to the public expenditure; that I have endeavoured to expose and to remedy the abuses of many boroughs, where bribery and corruption have been notoriously practised in the return of representatives; that I have sought peace and tranquillity for Ireland, by healing ra-

ther than by coercive measures; that I have contended for the redress of the grievances under which Dissenters labour; and that as an independent member of the House of Commons, apart from faction or from party, I have constantly, and I trust consistently, supported the removal of abuses both in church and state, on the broad ground of public advantage.

Another struggle is at hand; another general action must be fought in the cause, and under the banners of reform. If you have confidence in me at such a crisis, I am ready to receive an appointment at your hands, to take arms against the enemy, and to stand by those principles which must yet prevail. I remain, fellow-townsmen, your faithful and obedient servant,

MARK PHILIPS.

Manchester, 12. Dec., 1834.

MR. P. THOMSON

To the Electors of the Borough of Manchester.

Gentlemen,—The rumours of an approaching dissolution of Parliament induce me to address you.

Should it be your pleasure, in the event of your being called upon to exercise your elective franchise, again to invest me with the distinguished office of your representative in Parliament, I shall accept the trust with pride and with gratitude.

The principles which guide my conduct are well known to you. It was from your approval of them that you conferred upon me, unsolicited, the honour of representing you. They remain unaltered. I am not conscious of having failed to give to them the fullest effect of which the circumstances in which I was placed, and placed with your knowledge and full concurrence, admitted. I told you candidly, upon accepting the trust which you reposed in me, that, as a member of the Government, I might sometimes be compelled to compromise opinions which I entertained in common with yourselves, for the sake of that union without which any combination for common objects is

impossible. Such occasions may have occurred; but if one amongst you think that more might have been done by his representative, I will freely tell him that I think he underrates the difficulties under which reforms are brought about; and I can fearlessly appeal to my own conscience for always having acted that part which I thought most likely to advance those our common principles.

The acts of the Administration to which I had the honour to belong when you selected me, are recorded in some of the most beneficial measures which ever emanated from the legislature. That Administration received at the end of last session a reinforcement from the liberal party; and the work of reform would, I can confidently assert, under the guidance of Lord Melbourne, have proceeded steadily and fearlessly. It has pleased his Majesty, in the exercise of his undoubted prerogative, suddenly to dismiss that Administration, and to call to his councils the leader of the Tory party—of those who have uniformly opposed all the reforms upon which they with whom I have had the honour of being connected, have founded a claim to the good-will and confidence of their fellow countrymen—those whose unsuccessful struggle against the Reform Act,—against the abolition of slavery,—against the opening of our trade with China,—against the partial reform of the Irish Church,—we have to rejoice at;—whose too successful and disastrous opposition to the further reform of that monstrous abuse—to the better and cheaper administration of justice,—and to the removal of the grievances of those who dissent from the Church of England, we have to lament.

Should you be called upon to exercise your elective franchise, it will be for you, and for the other electors of the United Kingdom, constitutionally to decide, by the choice of those in whom you will confide, whether the power of government shall be placed in hands like these—whether the task of ameliorating the institutions of the country, and correcting abuses which have

sprung from a long course of corrupt and vicious legislation, shall be entrusted to the friends or to the enemies of reform;—whether the work of reformation is to be stopped at its commencement, or whether the Reform Act shall bear its full fruits.

The struggle must come. If in the exercise of your right of choice you are disposed again to confide your power to my hands, though others might wield it more ably, none will do so more zealously. To give to the Reform Act its full consequences; to extend to the utmost to all classes the blessings of civil and religious freedom; to correct the abuses of the church establishment; to purify the representative system, and secure the independent exercise of their franchise to those who possess it; to remove the shackles from our industry; to economise the expenses of the state, and alleviate the burdens of the people, will be hereafter, as it has hitherto been, my most anxious endeavour.

Several practical measures press for the immediate decision of Parliament; the great works of corporation and church reform; remedies for the just complaints of the Dissenters by the abolition of church-rates, by the removal of civil disabilities on account of religious opinions, by the introduction of a perfect system of civil registration, are expected without delay by the great body of our countrymen. To these, and to any other practical measures calculated to advance the great principles which I have avowed, I shall lend a ready and willing assistance.

As soon as circumstances will justify my doing so, I shall appear amongst you; anxious to render an account of my stewardship, and to offer any explanations of my past conduct, or of my opinions, which any elector may desire. In the meantime, gentlemen, I have the honour to remain, your faithful and obliged servant,

C. POULETT THOMSON.

London, 3. December, 1834.

MR. B. BRAIDLEY

To the Electors of the borough of Manchester.

Gentlemen,—As there is now a great probability of an early dissolution of the present House of Commons, I take the opportunity of formally addressing you in confirmation of the announcement which you have already received from the committee of requisitionists, that I have consented to be placed before you as a candidate for the representation of this important borough in the next Parliament.

To the gentlemen who addressed me, I stated in reply that I would make neither pledges nor promises as to the course of political conduct that I should follow in the settlement of questions which might hereafter call for public consideration. I have no objection, however, to state to you what my views are upon some subjects which now attract the attention of the electors; and as I have lately heard of opinions having been ascribed to me which I do not hold, I will at once proceed to do so with a view to prevent further misrepresentation.

1st. I have been accused of being an opponent of free trade. I know not the ground upon which this statement could have been justly made. That I am an opponent of particular measures conceding advantages to foreign nations for which they refuse to give us a suitable equivalent, is true; but that I am, in the slightest degree, opposed to the liberal extension of our commercial relations, or that I would object to the reception of any commodity from a foreign country when placed in a British market on at least equal terms with the produce of British labour, or that I would refuse to make a concession for a reasonable time by way of experiment to see whether we could not induce others to follow in our steps, I utterly deny. I fear, however, that some persons when speaking of free trade, lose sight of the serious addition which a heavy taxation makes to the cost of our own productions; and that in looking at the comparatively cheap prices at which some foreign

commodities may be obtained, they do not consider the abject manner of living of a foreign workman as compared with the comforts which every lover of his country would wish our own workmen to enjoy. If it be wished that foreign competition should have the effect of so far lowering the wages of British labourers as to reduce them to the necessity of living as poorly as foreign labourers do, let it be fairly avowed. I, for one, cannot approve of such a sentiment.

2. I understand that some persons find fault with my views on the currency of the country; and it has been said that I am an advocate for a paper currency. I do not exactly know what the objectors mean by a paper currency. I know of nothing peculiar to myself in opinion upon the subject. I think it is right that in small payments, gold should be the legal tender. I think it is proper that the Bank of England should pay its own notes in gold, if demanded. I am of opinion that, inasmuch as there is not a fortieth part of the gold to be found in the world which would represent the wealth of Britain alone; large payments in commercial transactions may be made with safety in paper as well as in gold; and I think it is right that some one bank, bearing the stamp of national approbation, should be the privileged issuer of the paper so to be given and received in legal discharge of debts between man and man. So long as the Bank of England uses this privilege prudently, gives its facilities impartially, without being swayed by petty jealousies towards other banks, whose well-based circulation the public chooses to encourage, and judiciously considers the general good, it shall have my support. Whether it has always done these things is another question.

3. But it is said that I am no church reformer. I am certainly no church destroyer. Christianity being the basis on which the laws of our country are founded, it would be strange indeed if no provision were made for the instruction of the people in those fundamental laws—the laws of God—on which all our national laws profess to be built. But

I am not insensible to the abuses which have existed in the shape of sinecures and pluralities, nor to the evils of the tithe system. I cannot shut my eyes to the fact, that there is much trouble and vexation in the present mode of collecting church-rates; nor can I see the good (but rather the harm) of compelling persons to use, in marriage, a form or ceremony which they disapprove of; and it is precisely because I love the church and wish it to stand well with the public, that I am prepared to give due consideration to any plan professing to remedy these and other existing evils.

4. As the repeal of the malt-tax seems to be an object with some electors, I will just say that my views of taxation are these; it should be as light as possible in the aggregate; it should be levied at the smallest cost for collection; and it should fall less heavily on the man in moderate circumstances than on the rich. If, consistently with these views, any modification should be proposed either by a small property tax, or by some other plan, to get rid of a burden bearing so hardly on the prosperity of the agriculturist and on the comforts of the working classes as the malt-tax, I will bestow upon such proposal every attention I can with a view to its abolition.

5. Some of the clauses of the Poor-law Amendment Bill (the bastardy clauses for instance) seem to me to require revision. And knowing, as I do practically, the operation of the system of poor-law administration in Manchester, an operation which, on the whole, has given satisfaction to the payer and to the receiver; I am not prepared to acquiesce in such changes as the new system would introduce amongst us here.

I have before intimated that I should think it wrong to fetter myself with pledges or promises, and I would rather decline the vote of the man who requires them, than hold myself to any course, which a more enlarged experience both of legislation itself and of the practicability of applying opinions to circumstances might teach me to be

worse than useless. The Reform Bill has now become the law of the land. It shall have my sincere efforts to make it efficient; and if my fellow-townsmen have sufficient confidence in me to commit the high trusts of a representative to my care, I will endeavour to fulfil them so as, first to satisfy my own mind, and next, to entitle myself to their approbation. I have the honour to subscribe myself, with great respect, gentlemen, your most obliged and obedient servant,

BENJAMIN BRAIDLEY.

Manchester, Dec. 22, 1834.

SIR CHARLES WOLSELEY.

To the Electors of Manchester.

Gentlemen,—If a town is to be estimated by the quantity and value of its industry and skill; by the extent of its commercial transactions and by the diligence and integrity of those who carry on those transactions; by its creative powers, and by the wealth, strength, and security to the country, arising from the exertion of those powers; by the orderly and sensible conduct, the public spirit, and the virtuous character of its people; then is Manchester not only the first town of England, but the first town of the whole world.

I will not be guilty of the affectation of seeming to forget the exertions which I have endeavoured to make for the restoration of the ancient liberties and happiness of England; nor will I seem to suppose, that you have altogether forgotten either those exertions or the pecuniary injuries and personal indignities and insults, which the hand of tyranny heaped upon me as my reward. I thank God that I have been preserved in the undiminished possessions descending to me from my ancestors for seven hundred years, the spot being the same and the name unchanged. But, gentlemen, in the words of Sir Francis Burdett, addressed to the people of England on the occasion of the Manchester massacre, I held my estate in trust for the good of those of my countrymen

who have not been so fortunate as myself; that is to say, the possession of it makes it my duty to stand forward, if need be, to assert the rights of, and to endeavour to cause justice to be done to, the people, and especially to that part of the people, whose industry creates that strength, which gives my estate protection.

It is under the influence of this sentiment, that I accept of the offer which a certain portion of your body have done me the honour to make to me. My past life I might, perhaps, hope would be a sufficient guarantee for my conduct as one of your representatives; but, gentlemen, the present state of public affairs suggests to me the propriety of making a specific declaration as to certain important points, namely, parliamentary reform, the malt-tax, the Poor-law Amendment Bill, the Factory Bill, and the rights of the Dissenters.

With regard to the first, I shall never deviate from maintaining the right of the people to universal suffrage, to annual parliaments, and to taking the vote by ballot, wherever they shall choose to do it. I hold, with all our laws, that labour is not only property in itself, but the sole original foundation of all property; that there can be no freedom where there is no right to vote in those who live by honest labour; and that common sense, the experience of the world, and the ancient law of the land, all demand that Parliament should be elected annually.

With regard to the malt-tax. Instead of three shillings a bushel for malt, the people are now compelled to pay eight; and that the working part of the people pay, upon an average, more than two hundred per cent. tax upon their drink (raised by themselves out of our own land), while the rich pay only thirty per cent. on their drink imported from foreign lands.

With regard to the Poor-law Amendment Bill, expressly intended to compel the working people of England to live upon a *coarser sort of food*, by taking from them that right of relief, which is as much theirs as my estate and the clothes upon my back are mine, it is

a thing so inhuman, and so hateful to the mind and so foreign to the feelings of an Englishman, that I should be ashamed to live if I did not hold it in abhorrence; especially when I must know, that its direct tendency is, to bring the working people down to the state of the working people of Ireland, and to put their wages into the pockets of the landholders and the great manufacturers; hoping, however, that comparatively few of either of these classes perceive the real tendency of this measure.

With regard to the HOURS OF LABOUR in the manufactories; I took, in the discussion of that measure, so great an interest, that I conveyed to the honourable Member for Oldham, who laboured so assiduously in the cause, an expression of my wish to have an opportunity of personally showing my respect for him in my own house, as a mark of my conviction of the great merit due to his laudable endeavours.

Lastly, gentlemen, with regard to the Dissenters. I have always held, that the tithes, the parsonage-houses, the glebes, the dues, the universities, and all their estates, and all the church lands, whether held by bishops or deans and chapters, were as much the property of the Dissenters as of the established church; knowing that the latter had no exclusive prescriptive right to them; knowing that they had no other right than that which they derived from acts of the Parliament; and knowing that one Parliament can legally do nothing which another Parliament cannot legally undo.

Upon these grounds, gentlemen, if I be chosen a Member of Parliament, nothing within my power shall be left undone to cause the Parliament to be further reformed upon the principles that I have stated; to cause the Malt-tax to be totally repealed; to cause the Poor-law Amendment Bill to be swept from the statute-book; to cause the hours of labour in the factories to be shortened; and to cause to be repealed, every statute giving to the established church any right to any part of the church property, or even to the edifice

of the church and the churchyards, greater than the right which, to the same things, shall belong to the Dissenters; or, in one short sentence, to cause there to be a complete separation of church from state.

Gentlemen, after the description which, in the beginning of this address, I have given of the town of Manchester, it would be superfluous for me to say, that the honour of being one of its representatives is a far greater honour than any to which I can pretend to have a claim. But as a considerable portion of you seem to think otherwise, I yield respectfully to your better judgment; and, as you are of opinion that my being a candidate at the ensuing election will afford you an occasion of openly proclaiming, and maintaining, those principles, for which I have always contended, it only remains for me to assure you, that you will find resolution that will flinch from the performance of no duty; industry that will be wearied by no toil; and gratitude that will never cease but with life, in

Your faithful,
Most obedient, and most

Humble Servant,
CHARLES WOLSELEY.

Wolseley Hall, 24. Dec., 1834.

COURT OF EXCHEQUER.

(London Sittings at *Nisi Prius*, before Mr. Baron Park, and a London Jury).

RICHMOND V. MARSHALL AND ANOTHER.

(Concluded from p. 58.)

Cross-examined by the Plaintiff. I am living at Glasgow. I have seen you a hundred times before last Saturday. I first saw you in the year 1812. I saw you at various other places. You obtained your living by selling the webs of the weavers. I never saw you nor your family out of distress. Your wife was a poor, broken-hearted woman. The only mode I had of knowing your affairs was seeing your children half naked and crying for bread. You went away, but I do not know where you went; it was after your leaving the weaving shop; you said it was high time for the people to overthrow the d—d villanous Government. I recollect the trials in 1817; I was not taken into custody; I was very happy on thinking I was not taken into custody; on my oath I saw the oath and the paper; I was not invited to come out of the house; but you had

it in your hand. I think it was about ten o'clock in the morning. I am certain from this you first had the paper. On it being shown, Fergusson said, I will take you to the place to be sworn, at the school-room. The oath was administered in the form of a Scotch oath. It was done by holding up the right hand: I never took any person to take the oath, for I regretted to have taken the oath. I knew many of your associates. Mr. Scott was one. He took part in politics, but not the way you did. The discussions used to take place of an evening, when the weavers congregated about the doors after work was done. I earn now 13s. a week. I am not acquainted with Mr. Mackenzie. In the beginning of this year, in March or April, Mr. Mackenzie called on me to ask what I knew about the transactions of 1816; I told him what I have now told you, I was not examined before the Commission. When Mr. Mackenzie came to me he said that I should be taken to London, and that my wages and expenses should be paid. When I was coming away there were three others with me, and P. McKenzie, who came up with us, gave 2l. He also paid our carriage fare. It was inconvenient to leave my work, and I did not like the long journey at all. (Laughter). I never said to any person of the name of Baird that what I said of Richmond, introducing the oath, was false. I do not know any man or woman of that name. I do not know that a man of that name was hanged at Stirling in 1820. I do not know Mr. Drybairn, who was formerly a schoolmaster. Neither to him, or to any body did I say what I had said of you was false. Mr. Mackenzie took a short note of what I told him. When I came to town, I waited on Mr. Tait at his lodgings; I had been addressed to him, not like a parcel, and certainly not like a "green bag parcel." (Great laughter). I now lodge at No. 7, Salisbury-square, Bell court, where you may call on me if you like. (A laugh).

Mr. Justice J. PARK. Come, come, sir, answer the questions properly.

By the COURT. I was not aware of any thing of the kind, but Richmond assured me that there was something in operation.

By Mr. PLATT. He told me that there were many respectable persons concerned in the business. He mentioned the names of Francis Jeffrey and Mr. Cockburn. He mentioned other names, but I forget them. He said it was my duty to join in those efficient measures, and that he would introduce me. I replied that I would think of it. I saw him afterwards in Baird-street, in company with Mr. Brown and another gentleman. They were on the south side of the street, and I on the north. Richmond crossed over to me, leaving the others, and asked if I had made up my mind? I replied I had not. He said I was a damned fool; that the measure was in active operation; and that it was my duty to take an active part in it. He said that the numbers amounted to 100,000, amongst them several respectable men; and, that money and everything neces-

ary was forthcoming. He pressed me to call upon him the next day; and, laying his hand on my shoulder, he said, "Set your mind to think seriously of it." I said "Very well, Sawney, I will." (A laugh). I never did call on him. I remember the arrest of Mr. Finlay. I cannot say of my own knowledge that Richmond was in distressed circumstances up to that time; but I used to hear it said that he was so. I had not seen him from the trial of the weavers for combination in 1813, until I met him in Trongate, in 1816. I remember that in 1817, the walls of Glasgow were chalked with the words, "Richmond the Spy."

Cross-examined by Richmond. I do live in Glasgow; I can earn from 6s. to 7s. a week; I only remember your saying to me besides what I have told now, was that you had an engagement with Mr. Owen. I met you afterwards, by accident, in 1820, several persons were with you; the only conversation I remember was that you wrung your hands and said, "What can administer to a mind diseased"? (A laugh). And you said you were going to publish a book. I remember the state of the country in 1816. The country was tranquil, but there was very great distress. I do not know exactly what you mean by excitement. There was a great many public meetings, and people were of various opinions as to the cause of the distress. In the conversation with you in December, it was understood between us that you attended the meetings for parliamentary reform, when you said that these were all damned nonsense. I was friendly to annual Parliaments and universal suffrage. As a delegate to the weavers' committee, I proposed resolutions to petition Parliament on the subject of reform. As far as I can judge for myself, I think I was moderate. I do not know what you mean by asking whether, on looking back now, I needed a stimulus to urge me on. I was at the Thrush Grove meeting, but only as a spectator. I took no part in it. I belonged to the unions which followed in 1819; I joined the radical processions with banners, and I acted on all occasions as a zealous partisan to the best of my power; but I never did countenance, nor ever would countenance, a secret combination. The combination which you wanted me to join in 1816 was secret, and the object was to overturn the Government. That was not expressed, but it was well understood; you said nothing exactly of the kind; I did not require to be urged on to do what was right by you, but if it was to do what was wrong, I would require to be urged on by you, or some other demon. (A great sensation in the court). I was afterwards put in prison by mistake; your appearance before the trials was like that of other weavers; when you were on the weavers' committee you got something more. I always thought it must be an advantage to you, or you would not have kept on to it. When you mentioned the names of Jeffrey and Cockburn, I did not understand you to refer to their friend-

ship for you; I understood you to name them because you knew they had great influence with the weavers. That was exactly what I understood. I did not know that they had brought you through the outlawry. I suppose they did, for you got through it somehow. I did not ask you any questions about how you were getting on when I met you, because you were distrusted by the weavers, as a man who had betrayed them in 1812. You were supposed to be great with Captain Finlay, who was against the people. You supported his election. I do not know what advantage you derived from betraying the weavers. You were tried with them, and were included in the outlawry. I heard that you said you suffered very much from the outlawry. I read your book, but I do not remember the account you give in that book about the transactions of 1812. I have sometimes written for the newspapers. I wrote a letter to the *Glasgow Chronicle* about you when your book was published. I did not write all I knew about you, for the paper would not hold it. (A laugh). The proprietor or editor did not apply to me until after I had sent the letter, when a reporter from the office called on me. The letter now shown me in the Glasgow paper is the one I wrote.

Richmond was here putting a question to the witness, when the court interposed, saying, "You cannot complain that this witness gives you any reason to complain that you cannot get direct answers out of him." (A laugh). After some conversation, it was agreed that the letter in the *Chronicle* should be read, and that the plaintiff might then ask what was the reason that witness had not stated in that letter the conversations which took place at Tongate. The letter complained of the inadequacy of Richmond's account of himself in his narrative, and asserted that there had existed no secret society in Glasgow, but the one of which Richmond was at the head. It stated also that a conversation took place between the writer and a man named Beard, exactly similar to that which the witness swears took place with the plaintiff, no allusion being made to the latter conversation in the letter, which concluded by expressing the writer's belief that Richmond acted as a spy in forming the secret combination.

Cross-examination resumed. My reason for not mentioning in the letter what you said to me was that there was not room to state every thing, and I selected what I thought was strongest. I thought at the time of writing that the fact which I stated about Beard would be stronger than your saying there were one hundred thousand men combined. From all the inquiries which I made. I am convinced that there were not more than a dozen or two of persons in the secret society you were concerned with. I was first applied to by Mackenzie to know what evidence I could give in this action. He told me I should be required to give evidence, but he did not

tell me what I was to say. He had no need to do so. (A laugh.)

Re-examined. I think Beard was living when I wrote the letter to the *Glasgow Chronicle*. I have heard that he died since. I had great influence with the weavers in my district, and if I had joined the conspiracy with Richmond, many others might have followed my example.

Mr. Millard, the printer, of Bridge-street, proved the publication of Richmond's narrative.

Mr. Prentice, Editor of the *Glasgow Chronicle*, examined by Mr. Sergeant Talfourd.—Before 1816 he knew Richmond, and towards the close of that year he came to consult witness about his accepting a situation at New Lanark as an assistant teacher. Some time in 1817 witness, on his way to the *Chronicle* office, observed the walls placarded with the words, "Beware of Richmond the Spy," and soon afterwards he saw Richmond on the other side of the street. Richmond endeavoured to pass him, unobserved, but witness crossed over and pointed to the placard, and told him to go at once, and make an affidavit that the placard was false, that the contradiction upon oath might be published. Witness said that if this was not done, every man would kick and spit upon him. The affidavit was never made, and witness never saw Richmond since until Saturday. Richmond never brought an action against witness for any of the letters published respecting him in the *Chronicle*. He sent a lawyer's letter threatening an action, but witness heard no more about it.

Cross-examined. First became acquainted with plaintiff as the writer of an article on the distresses of the weavers in 1816. That article excited the universal indignation of the weavers, for it said that they stole wett to the value of 500,000*l.* a year for food. This they denounced as a vile calumny. Witness knew nothing of plaintiff's affairs but what he told him himself. Witness gave him a letter of credit for 20*l.*'s worth of goods to manufacture, as a matter of mere humanity, on his representation of his distressed situation. Witness never sent Mr. McDougal the reporter, or any other person, to gather reports respecting the plaintiff. Witness remembers that the plaintiff told him that he was going into business under the patronage of Captain Finlay. Does not remember that plaintiff told him that Mr. Jeffrey and Mr. Cockburn were assisting him. (A long examination here took place respecting the contents of certain letters published in the *Chronicle*, but nothing of any moment resulting from it).

Mr. Wothersperon examined by Mr. Platt. Was a member of the Glasgow weavers committee, for the attaining of parliamentary reform, in 1816. The proceedings were all open. Remembers that Campbell, M'Lagblan, and M'Kinley, who were members, became intimate with Richmond; and from that intimacy he observed a change in the conduct of those three. They became desirous of secret

meetings for the purpose of resorting to more efficient measures. Witness opposed all attempts to get secret meetings. Petitions agreed to at a public meeting were dispersed throughout the town for signature, and on the evening appointed for the meeting of the committee to collect the petitions, and to forward them to London, at the house of Mr. Strang; witness went to Strang's house, and was introduced into a small room near the door, where Richmond was sitting with Messrs. Leighton, Campbell, and M'Kinley. That was not the room in which the committee was to meet. Richmond asked witness what he expected to gain by petitioning? Witness said that not much immediately, but by perseverance, he hoped they would succeed. Richmond said "that was all damned nonsense, nothing would do but physical force; that revolution was inevitable; he knew it, for he was in communication with the highest, the wisest, and best in the land, and they were only waiting for an organization of the working classes, when there would be no want of money or skill to conduct every thing." The witness expressed his dissent from those statements, and forbidding Richmond ever to speak to him upon such a topic again, he left the room. At this time witness was a weaver, a journeyman. On another occasion Richmond said to witness, that if he was bound to remain a weaver all his life he could cut his throat. The day after the trial of M'Kinley (7. July, 1817), witness met Richmond on the shore at Leith. Strang and another were with witness, who said to Richmond, "I expected to have seen you yesterday at the trial." Richmond then asked, "How did that affair go off yesterday?" Witness, seeing that the other was sneering in his usual way, made no remark. Richmond then said, with a sneer, "If they had taken my advice the result would have been otherwise." Witness then said, "You had not the courage to go into court, like your friends Oliver and Castles, who went there, in their robes of blood." He added, "This must be a good paying job, for when you were at Halton, your little ones were covered with rags and filth, but now they are dressed like gentlefolks, in new clothes and green shoes. (Great laughter). Richmond, who had his two children with him, walked off "very hot," and said that he did not care a — for witness. That closed his acquaintance with the plaintiff.

Richmond here said that he would not ask this witness a question.

Mr. Sergeant TALFOURD then rose to put in as evidence certain portions of the book (Richmond's narrative) of which the publication had been proved.

The plaintiff objected to that course, and contended that the whole narrative should be read in connection.

The COURT. What, the whole book? (Laughter). That is unnecessary. They can read their extracts, and you can then

cause any other passages to be read in connexion.

Several extracts were then read at the suggestion of either party.

Mr. Owen was then called, and examined by Mr. Sergeant Talfourd. He said: I had no knowledge of the nature of Mr. Richmond's connexion with Mr. Finlay; for if I had had any notion that he was so employed, he would be the last person in the world I should think of taking into my service. I was then engaged in an important plan for improving the condition of the working classes, and he was recommended to me as a person who had the interests of the working classes very much at heart, and I therefore wished to have his assistance; but I had no knowledge that he was a spy.

Richmond said that when he made to Mr. Owen the communication alluded to in one of the notes in his book, nothing had been done between him and Finlay. He then asked Mr. Owen, did he not remember his (R.'s) stating to him that there was an organization going forward throughout the country, and what Finlay proposed to do?

Mr. Owen said, Richmond, of this I am quite sure, that at the time you refer to, my mind was so made up to one principle, to do all in my power to promote the welfare of the working classes; that I would not lend myself to entrap any portion of them.

Richmond. I am sure of that; nor would I either. (Laughter and hisses).

Mr. Justice PARK. The jury will decide upon that.

The plaintiff then went into long explanations of circumstances to remind Mr. Owen that the communication had been made to him, as stated in the note; but Mr. Owen still denied.

Richmond. Why, Mr. Owen, you saw that part of my book before it was published, for I sent you the proofs, and you approved of them.

Mr. Owen. I read what you state about your engagement with me, and that is all perfectly correct. But this note was not in the portion which I saw, for I never would say that it was correct.

Richmond was then proceeding to make explanations in reply to Mr. Owen, and to call the attention of the jury to those remarks, when

Mr. Justice J. PARKE reminded him that it was not yet the time to address the jury, the examination of witnesses not having been concluded.

Richmond said that he was at a loss how to proceed. He was taken by surprise by the evidence which had been brought against him, and he was then unprepared to rebut it. But if he could not rebut it he never would hold up his head in society.

Mr. Justice J. PARKE thought that as the plaintiff was not prepared now with evidence to rebut the very strong evidence which had been brought against him, there was only this

alternative—he must either let the case go to the jury as it was, or submit to a *nonsuit*.

Richmond having consulted with his attorney, said that it appeared to be his wisest course to submit to a *NONSUIT*.

Mr. Justice J. PARKE. I think that is the wisest course.

The plaintiff was then called in court, in the usual form, and as he did not answer a *nonsuit* was entered.

From the LONDON GAZETTE,

FRIDAY, JANUARY 2, 1834.

INSOLVENTS.

BROWN, E., and J. and T. Davy, Collumpton, Devonshire, woollen-manufacturers.

MOSTYN, S. J., Fenchurch-street, whisky-merchant.

RAYMOND, W., Streatham-place, Brixton-hill, shipowner.

WIGAN, J., Pine-apple pl., Kilburn-priory, Edgware-road, music-dealer.

BANKRUPTCY ANNULLED.

CHAPMAN, J., Feltwell, Norfolk, shop-keeper.

BANKRUPTS.

ASHBY, S., Upper Thames-street, flour-dealer.

BLIGHT, P., Phillack, Cornwall, grocer.

HILDESHEIMER, P. D. L., otherwise P Levi, New-road, Woolwich, grocer.

RICHARDSON, H. J. A. G., Upper Norton-street, Portland-place, commission-agent.

SOLOMON, I., and B. Aaron, Bristol, woollen-drapers.

WINDROSS, J., Bishopsgate-street-without, linen-draper.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATION

RANKIN, R., jun., Greenock, writer.

TUESDAY, JANUARY 6.

INSOLVENTS.

LONDON, G. P., Wardour-street, Soho.

READ, T., New Brentford.

BANKRUPTS.

FLERSHEIM, L., Birmingham, merchant.

GREEN, E., Clifford-street, Bond-street, auctioneer.

GREENWOOD, W., Sutton-upon-Trent, coal-dealer.

OWEN, H., Liverpool, miller.

RIX, H., Harp-laue, Tower-street, cork-merchant.

SPEIGHT, S., Brick-lane, Spitalfields, chemist.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, Jan. 5.—The supplies of Wheat from Essex, Kent, and Suffolk, to this morning's market have been on a very moderate scale; and though there appeared a better feeling in the trade, and it was not generally thought Wheat had attained its minimum range of price, yet the excitement which the elections are causing prevented the market from being well attended. Fine Wheat, both white and red, realised fully the currency of last week, and an extra sample may have realised 1s. per quarter more money; but we do not alter the general currency; secondary and inferior parcels hung on hand at previous rates.

Fine samples of Chevalier Barley continue scarce, and are 1s. per quarter dearer; grinding samples were also fully as dear, and secondary sorts, however, of malting as well as distilling, were dull sale, but unaltered in price.

The malt trade was firmer, and prices evincing a tendency to advance; fine Chevalier quality was worth 66s., and extra superfine valued as high as 68s.

Though the supply of Oats from Ireland was extensive, yet from our own coast and Scotland, the arrival was limited. The trade ruled steady, and purchasers were obliged to submit to an advance of 6d. to 1s. per quarter on the rates of this day se'nnight. Free Riga quality have obtained 23s.

Beans met with only a limited inquiry, and were 1s. cheaper.

White Peas, owing to the foreign samples pressing on the market, again receded 1s. per quarter. Maple and Grey also suffered the same depreciation.

Flour extremely dull, and sales are being pressed at very low terms.

In bonded Wheat no variation, but the former quotations were steadily maintained.

Wheat, English, White, new....	42s. to 53s.
Old	48s. to 52s.
Red, new.....	32s. to 42s.
Old	40s. to 42s.
Lincolnshire, red	37s. to 42s.
White	43s. to 44s.
Yorkshire, red	36s. to 40s.
White	40s. to 42s.
Northumberl. & Berwick	38s. to 40s.
Fine white	40s. to 42s.
Dundee & choice Scotch	43s. to 44s.
Irish, red, good.....	35s. to 36s.
White	38s. to 42s.
Rye, new	30s. to 33s.
Old ..	34s. to 36s.
Barley, English, grinding	26s. to 28s.
Distilling.....	28s. to 30s.
Malting	32s. to 36s.
Chevalier ...	38s. to 41s.
Malt	44s. to 54s.
Fine new.....	56s. to 64s.
Beans, Tick, new	33s. to 35s.
Old	36s. to 38s.
Harrow, new.....	36s. to 38s.

Old	38s. to 40s.
Peas, White, English	38s. to 40s.
Foreign	36s. to 40s.
Grey or Hog	38s. to 40s.
Maples.....	40s. to 42s.
Oats, Polands	23s. to 24s.
Lincolnshire, short small	23s. to 24s.
Lincolnshire, feed	21s. to 22s.
Yorkshire, feed.....	21s. to 23s.
Black.....	23s. to 24s.
Northumberland and Berwick Potato, new.....	24s. to 25s.
Old.....	25s. to 27s.
Angus, new	24s. to 25s.
Old	—s. to —
Banff and Aberdeen, common new	24s. to 25s.
Old.....	—s. to —
Potato	25s. to 27s.
Old.....	25s. to 27s.
Irish Potato, new.....	21s. to 23s.
Old.....	—s. to —
Feed, new light	19s. to 21s.
Black, new	20s. to 22s.
Foreign feed.....	22s. to 23s.
Danish & Pomeranian, old	20s. to 21s.
Petersburgh, Riga, &c... ..	22s. to 23s.
Foreign, in bond, feed....	12s. to 14s.
Brew	16s. to 18s.

PROVISIONS.

Butter, Dorset	40s. to 42s. per cw.
Cambridge	40s. to —s.
York	38s. to —s.
Cheese, Dble. Gloucester	48s. to 68s.
Single ditto....	44s. to 48s.
Cheshire.....	54s. to 74s.
Derby	50s. to 60s.
Hams, Westmoreland..	50s. to 60s.
Cumberland ...	50s. to 60s.

SMITHFIELD, January 5.

In this day's market, which exhibited throughout a good supply, trade was, with each kind of meat, very dull. With the very primest small beef at, in some few instances, an advance of from 2d. to 4d. per stone; with other kinds of Beef, as also Mutton, Veal, and Pork, at Friday's quotations.

About 1,400 of the Beasts, nearly or quite a moiety of which were Shorthorns; the remainder in about equal numbers of Herefords, Scots, Devons, Welsh runts, and Irish beasts were from Lincolnshire, Leicestershire, Northamptonshire, and others of our northern districts; about 400, about a moiety of which were Scots, the remainder in about equal numbers of Shorthorns and Devons, with a few Norfolk homebreds and Welsh runts from Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, and Cambridgeshire; about 500, in about equal numbers of Herefords, Devons, and Welsh runts, with a few Shorthorns and Irish beasts, from the western and midland districts; about 100

mostly Sussex steers and Oxen, with a few Down, runts, and Irish Beasts, from Kent, Surrey, and Sussex; and most of the remainder, including about 100 Town's-end Cows, from the small-feeders, &c., in the neighbourhood of London.

About three-fifths of the Sheep were new Leicesters, in about equal numbers of the South-down and white-faced crosses; about a fifth Southdowns; and the remainder in about equal numbers of old Leicesters, old Lincolns, Kents, and Kentish half breeds, with a few pens of horned and polled Norfolks, horned Dorsets and Somersets, horned and polled Scotch and Welsh Sheep, &c.

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I remain, your obedient humble servant,

Laurieston,

JOHN CADWELL.

near Falkirk, 6. May, 1834.

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